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THE BACKGROUND, CAPABILITIES, AND NEEDS OF 108 BOYS ENROLLED AT THE CONNECTICUT JUNIOR REPUBLIC AS OF NOVEMBER 1, 1940

A Thesis

submitted by

Frederick H. Persiko, Jr.

(A.B., Gettysburg College, 1939)

in partial fulfillment of requirements for
the degree of Master of Science in Social Service

1941

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PREFACE

I would like to thank all those who in any way contributed to the writing of this thesis. A word of particular appreciation is due to the administration and faculty of the Connecticut Junior Republic who were most patient in answering my questions about the boys and in explaining the details of the techniques and practices in operation at the school. Without their complete co-operation this survey would not have been possible.

F. H. Persiko

CHAPTER I - AN INTRODUCTORY STATEMENT REGARDING THE SURVEY

During the period from September 3, 1940 to January 28, 1941 the writer was placed at the Connecticut Junior Republic, located at Litchfield, Conn., as a student worker, in order to fulfill in part the requirements for the degree of Master of Science in Social Service. At that time he made a survey of all boys enrolled at the Republic as of November 1, 1940. It is the purpose of this thesis to record the findings of that survey. On the basis of the material gathered it will be possible to present a rather complete picture of the general type of boy for whom this advanced institutional program is most effective. Furthermore, an attempt will be made to show in what ways the Connecticut Junior Republic is better equipped than the foster home or the average children's institution to answer the needs of this particular type of boy. Fictitious names will be used in connection with all case histories.

The body of this thesis is based, for the most part, on information gathered through a careful examination of each boy's file. A copy of the schedule which was used is given on the next page. The average file contained a social history of the boy prior to his enrollment, reports written by the visiting psychiatrist and the visiting psy-

SCHEDULE

THE BACKGROUND, CAPABILITIES, AND NEEDS OF ALL BOYS
ENROLLED AT THE CONNECTICUT JUNIOR REPUBLIC
AS OF NOVEMBER 1, 1940

Name: _____. Date of Birth: _____.

Date of Enrollment: _____. Supported by: _____.

Where from: Conn. ( ), Mass. ( ), _____.

Home Situation at Time of Enrollment: Both Parents Living Together ( ), One Parent in Home-- Mother ( ), Father ( ), Boy Living away from Home ( ) Where _____.

Mother: Interested ( ), Neglected Boy ( ), Emotional ( ), Immoral ( ), Foreign Background ( ), Working ( ), Dead ( ), Inadequate ( ), Indulging ( ), _____.

Father: Interested ( ), Neglected Boy ( ), Dead ( ), Immoral ( ), Foreign Background ( ), Alcohalic ( ), Inadequate ( ), _____.

Previous Placement: Yes ( ), No ( ). Foster Home ( ), Family ( ), Previous Institution ( ) (Number of Each).

Remarks on Parental Substitutes: _____.

Juvenile Court Contact: Yes ( ), No ( ), Nature _____.

Type of Delinquency: Stealing ( ), Truanting from School ( ), Running away from Home ( ), Sexual Misconduct ( ), Incorrigible ( ), Undesirable Companions ( ), _____.

Boy's I.Q.: 70 - 79 ( ), 80 - 89 ( ), 90 - 99 ( ), 100 - 109 ( ), 110 - 119 ( ), 120 - 129 ( ).

Boy's Personality Factors: Immature ( ), Impulsive ( ), Sensitive ( ), Practical Trend ( ), Emotionally Blocked ( ), Restless ( ), Withdrawn ( ), Periods of Depression and Moodiness ( ), Insecure ( ), Temper Inclination ( ), Suggestible ( ), Primitive ( ), Show-off ( ), _____.

Needs: _____.

Remarks: _____.

chologist, a medical record, weekly treatment notes submitted regularly by all faculty members who had had a close contact with the boy, and all correspondence pertaining to him. In 75 percent of the files there was also a very complete summary of the individual's entire social, mental, educational, and physical development. This summary is prepared by the Student Guidance Committee of the Junior Republic from nine to twelve months after the boy's enrollment and supplemented by further reports written at six month intervals. Throughout the summary particular emphasis is placed on the individual's adjustment since entering the school.

The social history of the boy prior to his enrollment as well as all background information was submitted by social workers who had had some contact with the family. Where no social agency had been interested in the home, such information was of necessity supplied by the parents. In some instances this material was not adequate and additional data were not available. For this reason a few of the statistics given in this thesis are not as complete as one would desire. However, such an inadequacy will be pointed out wherever it is necessary to do so.

Material concerning the boy and either of a psychological or of a psychiatric nature came from reports

written by Dr. Harry B. Moyle, visiting psychiatrist from the Hartley-Salmon Clinic of Hartford, Conn.; Dr. Elmer R. Hagman, visiting psychologist also from the Hartley-Salmon Clinic; and from Dr. Rudolf Hirschberg, resident psychologist.

The writer has had an ample opportunity to become very well acquainted with the boys who have been considered in this survey. His observations concerning them have been incorporated into the material which has been used in this thesis.

CHAPTER II - A DESCRIPTION OF THE CONNECTICUT JUNIOR REPUBLIC

In order to profit more completely from the material which is presented in the main body of this thesis, one should have a general conception of the methods in use at the Connecticut Junior Republic as well as of the goal toward which these efforts are being directed. For this reason a brief description of the philosophy and practices of the school will be offered in this chapter.

In the following statement, August Aichhorn has summarized the current philosophy which underlies the institutional treatment of the so-called "problem" child and has clearly pointed out the chief danger which exists in this particular type of child-care:

> Specific educational methods are far less important than an attitude which brings the child into contact with reality. We must give the pupils experiences which fit them for life outside and not for the artificial life of an institution. The more the life of the institution conforms to an actual social community, the more certain is the social rehabilitation of the child. There is a great danger in an institution that the individuality of the child does not develop along lines best-suited to his needs, but that rules are laid down in accordance with administrative requirements which reduce the child to a mere inmate with a number. [1]

- -

1 August Aichhorn, Wayward Youth (New York: The Viking Press, 1935), p. 150.

The techniques and practices in actual operation at the Connecticut Junior Republic have been devised under the influence of this same desire to provide for the child an individualized type of care, which still preserves the main advantages to be derived from an institutional setting. It is a school which has undertaken the task of preparing maladjusted adolescent boys for useful and intelligent participation in the community to which they return.

Since this is a private institution, boys are not committed for treatment as they are to a reform school or to a state training school. Though the juvenile court or a social worker may recommend that the boy enroll or the parents themselves may decide that they are not equipped to handle the problems which their son presents, the application is accepted only after the boy himself has visited the school and voluntarily agreed to enroll. A thorough investigation is made and if it is felt that the individual can profit from this type of training, he is accepted on the condition that he remain for at least two years or until he is considered ready to graduate. Thus the process of in-take is very selective and facilitates a more intelligent grouping of the boys. In many cases there has been dissocial behavior as well as anti-social activity and it is feared that serious delinquency may develop. In other

cases there has been no overt manifestation, yet the child's background and personality are such that when an inadequate or broken home makes placement imperative, institutional treatment is judged to be of more potential value than foster home placement.

Many institutions shelter the individual so completely that he is quite unfit to face the independence which engulfs him upon entering adult life in an outside community. The Republic program has been designed to prevent such an experience from upsetting the progress which the individual has made. Toward this end there is an economic system which closely parallels our national structure. There is also a unique system of participation by the boys in governmental activity through their own elective officers, their courts, and their town meetings. The use of four classes of citizenship provides the boy with an immediate incentive for achievement since each class offers more privileges than the one below it. Promotion or demotion is voted upon each month by both the faculty and the boys' government and is based upon the degree of general progress which the boy has shown.

Specialized instruction of both a theoretical and a practical nature is offered in the following trades: carpentry, printing, cooking and baking, plant maintenance,

laundry, auto mechanics, junior business, and agriculture. Graded material allows each boy to proceed individually according to his own abilities and interests. Each department contributes to the actual operation of the school and at the same time offers its students a genuine trade training. Thus the auto department services all school cars, the agriculture department provides some of the food, the business department has charge of the economic system, while every other department makes its contribution for the benefit of the whole community. Those boys who are well-advanced in their trades are often placed on trade extension for short periods of time in order to acquire a more fully rounded experience. Permanent employment is secured for those who are graduated.

The general atmosphere of the school is very similar to the friendly community spirit of any preparatory school for boys. The cottage system is used, employing dormitories with an average of from twelve to fifteen boys in each. Several private rooms are available for those who by their general progress and economic standing have earned this privilege. Further privileges are granted to those whose behavior has made them eligible for week-end trips into town, to the movies or to their own homes. A continuous schedule of athletic competition is arranged

with both preparatory and high schools throughout the state. Bi-monthly dances are held in addition to such affairs as the Junior Prom, the Sophomore Hop, and the various fraternity dances and parties.

The writer would like to close this brief and somewhat inadequate description of the Connecticut Junior Republic by offering a statement of the four-fold goal which dominates the entire program. Three of these phases involve the vocational, the academic, and the social well-being of the boy. The fourth phase is concerned with offering guidance toward a good adjustment in all areas of his life.

From a vocational standpoint, every attempt is made to help the boy find for himself that trade which is best suited to his own capabilities and interests and to develop in him some ability to do an efficient and a competent piece of work. Every boy's vocational preferences are subject to the approval of the Student Guidance Committee which has full information about him and is in a good position to pass on his judgments. If his request appears to rest on legitimate grounds, he is given the opportunity to do the thing which he desires.

The academic goal is that every attempt be made to bring the boy up to, or beyond, the level of eighth grade achievement. It is a matter of policy to require all those who have not received their eighth grade diplomas to spend two weeks out of every three in the classroom. The remaining time is spent in the shop where an emphasis is placed on the practical side of the course.

From a social standpoint, it is the Republic goal to help the boy attain some degree of harmony between himself and others; that is, to be able to relate himself satisfactorily to those around him. Every attempt is made to help him adjust to any conflicts which he may have had in the home or elsewhere and to diminish the possibility of further conflict in the future.

The final phase of the goal concerns guidance. This is the actively moving force behind those other areas of vocational, academic, and social development. Some freedom in his choices is desirable as a preparation for later self-sufficiency, yet there is a constant process at work which is guiding the boy toward the wiser course of action. This process is centered in the resident psychologist whose recommendations and suggestions, as well as those of the visiting psychiatrist and the visiting psychologist, are followed by the cottage supervisors, the shop

and classroom instructors and the various committees who deal with specific phases of the boy's program.

The advanced treatment plan of the Connecticut Junior Republic has been forged under a conviction similar to that expressed by Alida Bowler and Ruth Bloodgood in their recent report to the United States Children's Bureau. Their statement is as follows:

> Realistically, the institution's task is to discover each boy's assets and liabilities in relation to the social scheme, and then to go as far as possible in each case toward building up a personality capable of satisfactory self-direction.[2]

---

2 Alida C. Bowler and Ruth S. Bloodgood, "Institutional Treatment of Delinquent Boys", Publication No. 228: Treatment Programs of Five State Institutions (United States Children's Bureau, 1935), p. 3.

CHAPTER III - THE FINANCIAL SUPPORT OF THE BOYS

Approximately $775 is needed annually for the support of each boy enrolled at the Connecticut Junior Republic. This amount covers his tuition, room and board, clothing, and doctors' and dentists' fees for one year. In order to lighten the financial burden which may be placed on any one person or agency, the Public Relations department of the school conducts a continuous fund raising campaign. This campaign has been organized to a great extent through the use of local clubs and through the influence of prominent leaders in local communities. New resources are constantly being developed, while the older ones are strengthened and improved. The campaign is carried on only in the state of Connecticut and all funds raised in this manner are used wholly for the benefit of Connecticut boys.

Those who contribute large amounts of money are known as "scholarship givers". Each one is usually assigned some particular boy as the direct recipient of his kindness. In this manner there is created a more personal bond between the giver and the receiver. The boy and his benefactor meet occasionally, while efforts are made to help them become better acquainted. Scholarship givers often become very much attached to the boys and will send

gifts to them or perhaps take them out to dinner. Thus the large contributor is able to see rather concretely what his money has accomplished. On the other hand from a treatment standpoint, this practice has proven of real value for the boy who needs adult interest and affection.

The student body of the Taft Preparatory School of Watertown, Connecticut, is also one of these scholarship givers. Excellent relations between the two schools have been developed and expressed mainly through athletic competition and the social hour which follows. Exchange visits have been made, while personal friendships have been formed and continued. The students of the Hotchkiss School at Lakeville and of the Choate School at Wallingford also contribute scholarship gifts each year. The Hartford Community Chest provides for twenty scholarships annually, while such organizations as the Kiwanis Club of New Haven and the Rotary Club of Danbury are on the list of large contributors.

Through this campaign enough money is raised to cover approximately $300 of the annual expense connected with each Connecticut boy's training, while endowments cover a further $100. This endowment money is also applied to the expenses of out-of-state boys. There is then $375 more to be raised for each Connecticut boy and $675 for

each out-of-state boy. This expense must be met by those directly interested in the boy-- the parents, the social agency, or any others who may sponsor his enrollment.

At this point it is pertinent to examine Graph #1 in order to compare the number of Connecticut boys with the number of out-of-state boys. As one would expect, Connecticut is far in the lead with approximately 82 percent of the total number of boys, while Massachusetts is second with slightly over 12 percent.

GRAPH #1

NUMBER OF BOYS FROM EACH STATE REPRESENTED

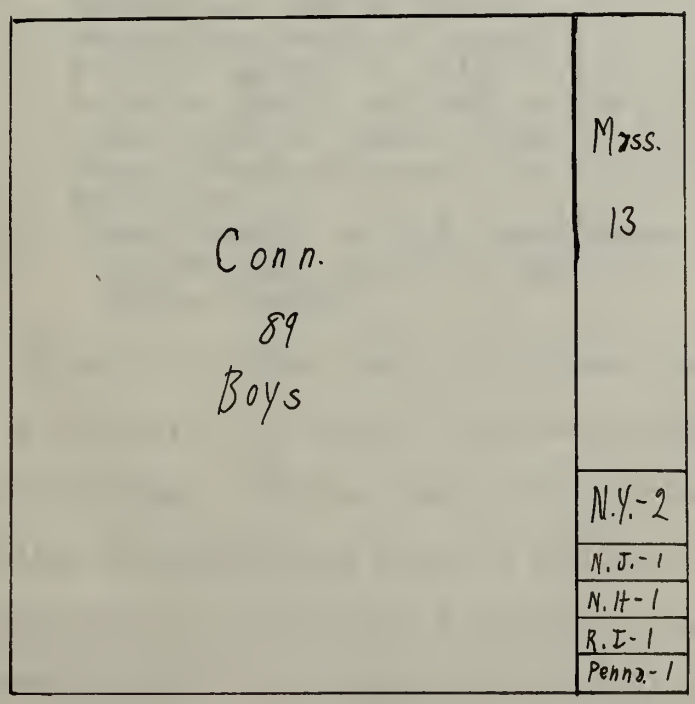


Table #1 has been designed to show those directly interested in the boy who have assumed the burden of meeting the balance of the expense. For purposes of comparison a division has been made between the Connecticut group and the out-of-state group.

TABLE #1

THOSE WHO HAVE ASSUMED THE BALANCE OF BOY'S SUPPORT

Connecticut - $375			Out-of-State - $675	
Percent	Number		Number	Percent
16	14	Both Parents	3	16
8	7	Mother	1	5
6	5	Father	1	5
3	3	Parent and Step-parent	2	10.5
3	3	Parent and DPW or State	--	--
3	3	Parent and Private Agency	2	10.5
15	13	Private Agency in Full	10	53
4	4	Private Agency and DPW or State	--	--
10	9	Department of Public Welfare	--	--
22	20	County Commissioners	--	--
4	4	Relatives	--	--
4	4	Miscellaneous -- U.S. Government, Endowments, Adoptive Family, Foster Mother.	--	--

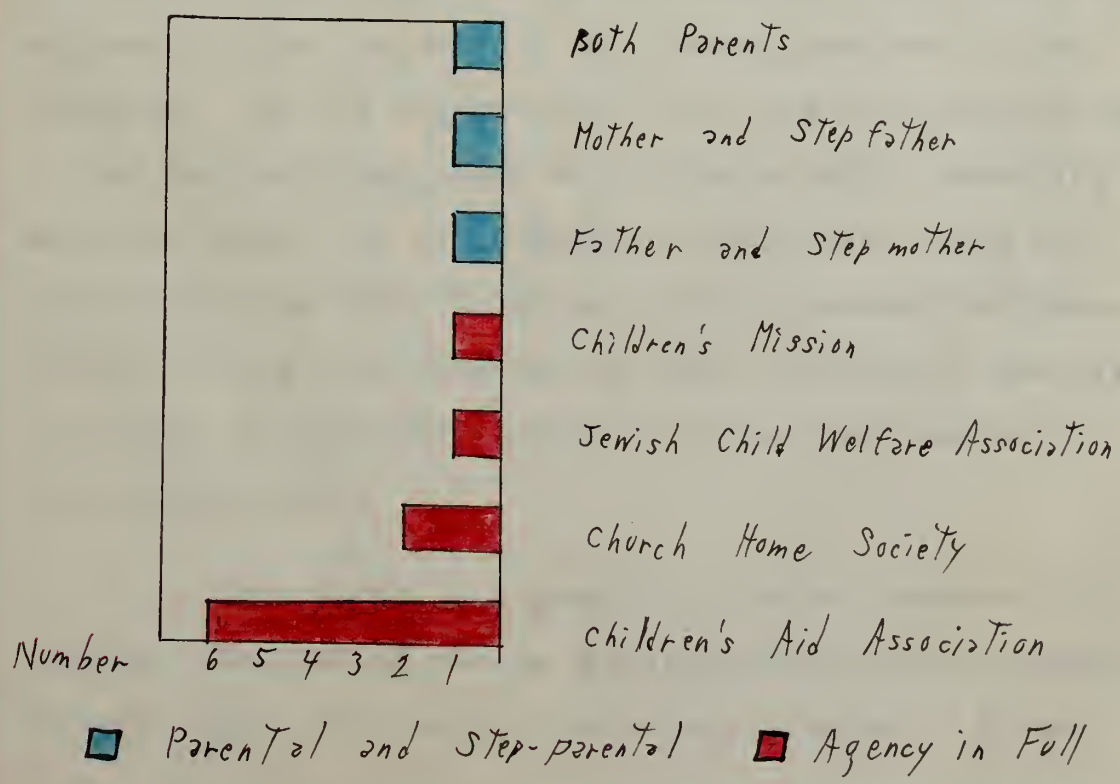
It will be noted that the federal government is listed as a supporter in one of the cases under the miscellaneous grouping. The boy concerned was convicted of counterfeiting United States coin in a public school workshop. Enrollment at the Junior Republic was advised in place of commitment to a reformatory because it was felt that the prognosis under this type of training would be more

promising than under the routinized discipline of a penal institution. A more complete discussion of this particular case is presented in connection with Chapter VIII.

Graph #2 shows the unique situation concerning the support of the thirteen boys who have come from the state of Massachusetts. Of this number ten are supported in full by private agencies. This fact is indicative of the high regard which is felt for the ability of the Republic faculty to handle effectively the problems of this particular type of boy.

GRAPH #2

SUPPORT OF MASSACHUSETTS BOYS



It is apparent from an examination of the facts behind Table #1 that the Junior Republic is, to a large extent, serving the lower income and unemployed groups. The children of such families have had greater handicaps than those who have not felt economic pressures so keenly. This matter of insufficient family income has undoubtedly been a contributing factor in the distorted development of a large percentage of these boys.

In the first place, many of the boys have felt quite inferior to their associates because they have been unable to enjoy certain pleasures in which these friends have indulged. Their parents have not had enough money to supply the family with such necessities as food, clothing, and rent without attempting to provide luxuries for the children. Yet few things make a boy feel more unhappy than to see that everyone seems to be able to enjoy something which he cannot. A large number of them have begun to steal simply in order to obtain these pleasures for themselves. Where such stealing has been successful, one easily builds up confidence enough to become more daring in his delinquenceis.

Then there is a possibility which coneerns the parents. The father who is failing to provide adequately for his family is likely to be a poor parental figure

both in his own eyes and also in the eyes of his family. He may have been able to provide very satisfactorily until he was caught in the grinding machinery of the depression. Now he cannot find a job and begins to grow discouraged. The lowering of family standards may have a demoralizing effect upon him and he may remain a discouraged and beaten man, lacking in self-confidence, or he may begin to deteriorate more deeply. On the other hand, family poverty may be the result of a previous deterioration on the part of the father who accepts no responsibility and cares for little more than the gratification of his own desires. No matter what the father's reaction to his problem is, the child has before him the figure of a parent who has not been able to make the grade economically and perhaps emotionally and morally as well.

The mother of such a household has a difficult burden to carry and she too may be discouraged and unhappy. Some mothers deteriorate under the strain, while others grow stronger. Her situation is usually complicated, or perhaps caused, by the presence of too many children in the home. Having more to do than she can handle, she is unable to offer effective discipline, training and supervision for her offspring. The perennial baby absorbs most of her attention and so the older children are often left to their own devices.

If the home is crowded and dirty and the family relationships none too pleasant, the child will turn to other places which seem more attractive to him. Thus his leisure time activities become centered either in the street or in the alley. If he is upset, he may go out looking for compensation in the form of anti-social behavior. He finds himself readily able to team up with a delinquent gang and then embarks upon a series of activities which can only lead him into a deeper and more serious difficulty.

Thus we have seen a few of the more general economic and environmental factors which have contributed to the poor adjustment noted in many of these boys. While such elements have not been wholly responsible for the presence of any boy at the Junior Republic, their effect in combination with several more specific factors has made institutionalization imperative. A detailed discussion of these other factors will be presented in the chapters which follow.

CHAPTER IV - THE HOME SITUATION

The home life of the child undoubtedly has a greater effect upon his personal and social development than any other outside force which may be brought to bear upon him. This fact has long been recognized by leaders in the field of child welfare and with their approval was thus expressed in the General Report of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy:

> The vast majority of children are members of families. Their world opens up in a family, and they continue to spend most of the hours of the day in or about the home, even after school and playmates have begun to claim a large place in their thoughts and activities. Home and family are the first condition of life for the child. They are first in importance for his growth, development and education.[3]

The home is the most natural setting for the individual's early development, offering him a sense of security, of stability, and of belonging which no other environment can quite duplicate. If the family unity is partially or completely broken, serious harm can be done to the child for he no longer lives under normal conditions and thus a handicap has been placed upon him. Table #2

- -

3 Children in a Democracy, General Report of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy, Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 10.

shows the number of boys who have been the victims of this particular kind of situation. It is significant that 71 percent of the homes have been either partially or completely broken. Such a condition as well as the underlying factors, has played a large role in the poor emotional and social adjustment which has made institutional treatment necessary for these boys.

TABLE #2

HOME SITUATION IMMEDIATELY PRIOR TO BOY'S ENROLLMENT

Home Situation		Number	Percent
Normal Family Picture		31	29
Both Parents in the Home	31	29	
Partially Broken Home		33	30
Mother Only	22	20	
Mother and Stepfather	2	2	
Father Only	7	6	
Father and Stepmother	2	2	
Broken Home with Child Placed		44	41
Under Care of County Commissioners	17	16	
In Foster Homes	12	11	
With Relatives	9	8	
With Adoptive Parents	2	2	
With Adoptive Father Only	1	1	
Miscellaneous (Institution, Prospective Stepfather)	3	3	
Total		108	100

When the home has been partially broken because of the death, desertion, or institutional commitment of one parent, the child usually does not receive adequate supervision. The surviving parent often must work in order to support the family and thus no one is present during the day to look after the family. Where one parental figure is missing, particularly if it is the father, the boy is very likely to go out in search for a substitute. This often leads to further difficulty when an unscrupulous person is drawn into the picture.

Where step-parents have entered into the families of these particular boys, there has not been a successful solution. These substitute parents have frequently resented the presence of the children and have consequently mistreated and neglected them. The stepmother has often had enough influence over the father to persuade him to place his children either in a foster home or in an institution. Then too, the father has frequently become rather sensitive about his second wife and would brook neither disobedience nor rejection of her on the part of his children. On the whole, stepfathers were usually strict and not very understanding. They too used their influence in order to have the child placed elsewhere. Thus the boy has the loss of one parent's love added to the complete loss of the other

parent. He must cope with grave insecurity, rejection, and frustration.

Where the home has been completely broken-- perhaps officially because of deplorable conditions, or because of the divorce or separation of the parents-- the child loses his rightful place in the home and may easily develop a deep sense of insecurity and of instability. In those cases where the home was officially broken up, highly unsatisfactory conditions had existed with great traumatic effect upon the child. There was often immorality of the most sordid type-- of incestuous relations between brother and sister, parent and child. One boy was often present while his father entertained both men and women in a sexual manner. One mother, whose husband had deserted, turned to prostitution in order to support her family. She was apprehended and the children taken from her. There were alcoholic fathers who brought physical abuse into the picture. In many instances there was almost complete neglect, in addition to factors of immorality, general laxity, and ultimate desertion. Furthermore, there were cases where death claimed one parent, while insanity claimed the other, and the Bureau of Child Welfare accepted the children.

In those families where the parents had separated, the child was often torn between the two and the demands

which each placed upon him. Some boys learned to play one against the other and thus obtain for themselves more affection and favors because of the rivalry which they had encouraged. One divorced mother was working as a housekeeper and so she placed her son under the care of his prospective stepfather; however, the boy's life had been too disorganized for any stability to result from such an experiment.

It is apparent that two factors-- inadequate supervision and great emotional trauma-- have been operating with devastating efficiency in these products of the partially or completely broken home. These particular boys have emerged with a distorted view of life, ill-trained and ill-equipped for adult life. They have not developed a sense of community responsibility and can only follow the examples of their short-sighted and maladjusted parents.

With these facts in mind it would be pertinent to examine closely those 31 homes where there was an unbroken family pattern in order to learn something of the type of care which was provided for the younger members of the group. Table #3 gives the results of this study. Each home has been judged both individually and in relation to others of its kind.

TABLE #3

TYPE OF CARE OFFERED IN THE 31 UNBROKEN HOMES

Type of Care Given	Number
Poor	9
Fair	15
Good	7
Total	31

In general, it may be said that a poor home is one where both parents were extremely inadequate. An example of this type is found in the home of Fred Wing. The mother is described as being sickly, dull, unreliable, and unclean in matters of personal hygiene. The father is lazy, alcoholic, abusive, unable to support his family, and definitely not interested in the boy. Neither parent made any attempt to supervise the children. At the age of 13 Fred has few inhibitions, is quite untrained, flighty, indifferent, immature, and rather aggressive. A second example is found in the case of John Dirozo. The family owns a small grocery store which absorbs all the interest and attention of the two parents. They had no time to supervise the boy and openly wondered why he should be so difficult. The problem becomes more complex when one learns that there is a pronounced foreign background which has often brought on conflicts between the American way of living as opposed to the Italian. At the age of 15 John is no longer controllable,

has no respect for authority, is a bully, and a loyal member of the gang.

A fair home may be found where one parent was adequate, while the other was not; or where both parents were fairly adequate though unable to handle the situation satisfactorily. An example is found in the case of Ray Brown. Here the mother, though nervous and frail, has done an excellent piece of work in trying to keep things going. The father absorbs much of her attention for he has been ill and in bed for seven years. Private relief agencies have given full support throughout this entire period. A second example is found in the case of Bob Laroti. Here we find a situation wherein the family was too large for the parents to handle. Nine children and two adults were trying to live on the father's weekly earnings of $17. Both parents were doing their best though each had a tendency to be rather easy-going. A social agency aided by one of the community organizations was able to raise enough money in order to send Bob to the Republic and to place some of the other children in foster homes.

A good home is one where both parents were interested and doing very well; however, they may not have been able to cope with certain problems manifested in the boy, or they may have tried too hard to rear the boy prop-

erly. In the case of John Edwards, both parents were devoted to him and had provided close supervision as well as excellent physical care. However, their standards were too high for the boy to attain, while their close supervision blocked a normal development of self-reliance and a feeling of independence. In the case of Frank Depolo we have a boy who thought himself a misfit in spite of all that his family did to show him otherwise. Physically, he was taller and fairer than the other members of this Italian family, who were short and dark-complexioned. They were more emotional and excitable, while he was rather quiet and passive. He felt himself to be out of place and turned to others outside of the family for recognition and response.

Thus we see that in these unbroken homes there was also inadequate supervision as well as trauma. Only seven boys out of 108 received what, comparatively speaking, might be termed as "good" parental care. Thus in nearly 95 percent of the cases the parents did not or could not satisfactorily fulfill their duties. Inadequate supervision gave the boys time and opportunity to get into all kinds of trouble. Traumatic experiences sent them out in daring attempts to find in abnormal ways the normal satisfactions which had been denied them. We have said that the home environment

plays a large role in the development of children. These boys are not "bad" boys-- they are, for the most part, the products of bad family environments.

CHAPTER V - A DISCUSSION OF THE BOYS' PARENTS

Through a consideration of some of the broader aspects of the homes from which these boys originally came, we have learned that a large percentage of their homes have been either partially or completely broken, while a larger percentage of them have not functioned satisfactorily. In this chapter we shall go more deeply into the home situation in order to consider the parents themselves whose personalities have, to a great extent, been responsible for both the personal and the social adjustment of the individual child. Though later chapters will offer a clear picture of the direct effects which the personalities of the parents have had upon the personalities of the boys, it is the purpose of this chapter to present a graphic picture of the parental situation in relation to the origin of complex problems and conflicts within the boy.

Table #4 has been designed to facilitate a comparison between the frequency and percentage figures of each parental factor. These factors were chosen after a brief examination of the records had brought out the great influence which they had exerted upon the development of this particular group of boys. The writer then examined the material found in each record and checked those factors which had played a major role in each individual case.

Some of the information used in this connection had of necessity been supplied by the parents. Where their statements were either incomplete or noticeably prejudiced, the writer tended to underestimate. Thus the figures given under Table #4 may be somewhat lower than they would be if additional facts had been available from other and more objective sources. The percentage given for each factor is indicative of the frequency of that particular element among the total number of fathers or mothers, as the case may be. An explanation of the terms used as well as a discussion of each factor is given below.

TABLE #4 - A COMPARISON OF PARENTAL FACTORS

Father			Mother	
Percent	Number	Factor	Number	Percent
20	22	Interested and Did His or Her Best	32	30
22	24	Alcoholic	6	5
19	21	Dead	19	17
8	9	Emotional	22	20
27	29	Foreign Background	24	22
2	2	Identity Unknown	--	--
18	20	Immoral	21	19
36	39	Inadequate	33	31
4	4	Insane	8	7
22	24	Neglected Boy	22	20
9	10	Over-indulgent	23	21
7	8	Passive	--	--
--	--	Working	14	13

It seems quite significant that only approximately 20 percent of the fathers and 30 percent of the mothers were interested enough to put forth their best effort on the behalf of their children. Most of these conscientious parents were greatly handicapped either by the absence of their mates, by partners who were working against them, by families which were too large for them to handle, or by problems and difficulties which were beyond their abilities to solve. They have done the best that they were capable of doing, yet they have not been able to completely fulfill their functions as parents.

One of the main undermining influences in the development of these boys is described in Table #4 as "inadequacy", a term chosen by the writer in an attempt to combine under a single heading a number of specific types of parental inadequacy. This term does not include the various other and more general factors such as alcoholism, immorality and neglect. The inadequate father in this particular sense may be unable to support his family; may accept no responsibility; may be completely neurotic, confused, lazy, or immature; or he may exhibit a great lack of understanding for his offspring. The inadequate mother may be helpless, definitely neurotic, uneven, hysterical, incompetent, unsteady, or irresponsible; she may have an uncontrollable temper and be of low mentality; or she may have no mother

instinct at all, having never fondled her child or taken much notice of him. The presence of such a factor in the make-up of either parent can hardly offer more than an unsteadying and a disquieting influence upon the children involved.

A fair percentage of the parents have definitely neglected their children. For the most part they are those who did not desire parenthood and have therefore cruelly rejected their offspring. They are chiefly interested in themselves and in the gratification of their own desires. In some instances the widowed or divorced parent has remarried and then neglected the children of the first union. Many have deserted the family and their present whereabouts are unknown. The neglected child is part of a large group who feel rejected or inferior. The sense of uncertainty which he feels produces unhealthy emotional conflicts and unfortunate behavior. He who lacks parental love faced the most tragic of emotional difficulties for he is nearly always consciously unhappy. [4]

At the other extreme, there is the over-indulgent parent who quickly gives into the demands and desires of

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4 Idea taken from Samuel Hartwell, Fifty-Five "Bad" Boys (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1931), p. 313.

her child. She is over-solictious regarding his welfare and over-protective of him when difficulty arises. She has never allowed him to develop a spirit of independence and has only succeeded in training him to be as selfish as he possibly can. If he reaches adulthood unchecked, he will probably make everyone who comes in close contact with him unhappy because of his ruthless attention to his own interests and gratifications. Some of the parents were over-indulgent in a vain attempt to prove that they really loved the child and were not rejecting him. Others were motivated by a great desire to possess the child more completely. No matter what the reason may be, the unwholesome effect upon the child remains unaltered.

The term "emotional", as used in connection with Table #4, includes all those who are high-strung, nervous, worrisome, excitable, or quick-tempered. Such parents tend to put everything on an emotional level and to teach their children to do likewise. Mrs. Aylor is an excellent example of this type of parent. She always scolded Jimmy for his misdeeds by tearfully pointing out that he was a "bad boy" because he has "broken mother's heart". Such a parent is selfishly concerned with her own satisfactions and desires, and thinks nothing of training an entire family to respond on that basis. The father who loses his temper on the slightest provocation is no better equipped to teach

social values to his frightened offspring. An emotional parent produces a feeling of instability in the child along with an unhealthy home atmosphere of free and uncontrolled expression.

Many problems and conflicts are created in the lives of those children whose parents were foreign-born. Their's is the difficult task of adjusting to two widely different cultures. Though when in the home they may speak Italian or Polish and obey all the customs of that land, yet in school and throughout the community they must speak English and follow quite a different set of customs. The parents often resist the American way of doing things and dogmatically continue on more determined than before. They are seldom able to understand the plight of the child who is caught between these two opposing forces. If the child chooses to accept the American way, and he must sooner or later, the breach between him and his parents constantly widens. As he becomes more progressive, he begins to resent the deeper entrenchment of his parents into ways which he can no longer understand or tolerate. A few children make the transfer quite easily, but they are the exceptions.

Immorality, ranging from the deepest incest through adultery and prostitution, has been quite rampant

in a fair percentage of these homes. Such activity has seldom failed to reach the knowledge of the child. From his own associates he has a pretty good idea of the prevailing social attitude. He may even be subject to ridicule and discrimination because of the activities of his parent. And so he may be torn between love for his parent and hate for the thing that he or she does. Such a conflict is most difficult to resolve. On the other hand, the child may accept the parent's example and freely follow suit. In either case the personality damage is great.

The term "alcoholic" refers to drinking of an excessive nature. Such intemperance is indicative of grave personal instability as well as of an inability for the parent to solve his own problems satisfactorily. In several cases the result was an almost complete deterioration of the individual who then became the subject of intensive medical and psychiatric treatment. Such deterioration was usually accompanied by much dissension between the parents and a general lowering of family standards. Under the influence of alcohol many fathers became very abusive toward other members of the family. A child reared in this atmosphere is likely to be effected so traumatically that he himself requires the attention of trained treatment persons.

The continued illness of a parent also has a poor effect upon the child. It is evident that such sickness becomes quite a drain upon the family income. Funds which should be used for other purposes must be spent for medicines, special diets, and often for the services of a physician where free treatment is not available. The sickly parent is not able to give her child adequate supervision and so he is free to do very much as he pleases while outside of the home. Other places become more attractive than his own home because of the demands which may be placed upon him or because of the restrictions which may serve to curb the normal outlets for his energies.

The death of a parent is a tragic experience for any child to accept. If he was very young at the time, he later tends to wonder much about the personality of the missing parent and to build up an ideal picture of this parent. If he is older when the death occurs, there is created a void in his life which can never be quite filled. The experience is more difficult for him if the death was of a violent nature. The parents of five boys were suicides, while three others died because of accidents. One mother probably died from cruel and abusive treatment at the hands of the father. Another mother was burned to death while trying to save her son from a similar fate.

Three parents died after a period of insanity. A few boys have experienced the doubly tragic experience of the death of both parents.

Another distinctly traumatic experience for a child is that of seeing one of his parents in a state of insanity. Unpleasant memories of that parent may continually force themselves upon him as he begins to worry about his own sanity. Fearful that the condition may be inherited, he develops a sense of insecurity and of deep uncertainty. Not being mature enough to understand, he is unable to make the allowances which should be made. In addition to all this, he has missed much from normal family life; for one parent has been unable to fulfill her duties as a parent, while the other has had to work doubly hard and bear a burden which may be too great for him to handle.

Fourteen mothers were working and were therefore unable to provide adequate supervision for their children. They are the ones who have tried to support their families when the father has not done so. Most of these fathers have either deserted, died, or been committed to an institution. A few have been chronically ill. The problem of supervision for the children of working mothers has been long recognized. Most of the boys involved in these particular cases have not received good care during the

day, while at night their mothers have often been too tired and too busy to do very much of a constructive nature.

The identity of two of the fathers is unknown. One of these is reputed to have assaulted the mother while she was on the way home from work. He made a cash settlement of $500 and disappeared before the child was born. In addition to these two, there are several instances where a question has been raised regarding the paternity of a child, but where nothing certain has been learned. The information available is not adequate to warrant a more detailed discussion of these cases.

Finally, some mention should be made of nine parents who have expected too much from their children. This is undoubtedly a very low figure, but material concerning this particular factor was not very complete. These parents have set and maintained standards which were too high for the boy to reach. They may have been too exacting in their demands, too strict in their disciplinary measures, or too ambitious regarding the boy's achievement. The boy has reacted by trying to prove himself on another level, usually through anti-social behavior.

From this brief discussion it is quite evident that the majority of the parents have not fulfilled the

obligations which they owe to their children. On the whole, they have been maladjusted themselves and have been more concerned with their own interests and gratifications than with those of their offspring. They have not understood their children and have made little attempt to guide them or to supervise their activities. They have conducted their home life in such a manner that their families have often been broken up through one means or another. Since his primary urges for affection, recognition, and response have not been satisfied in a normal manner, the child has had to turn to the abnormal or to the anti-social for gratification. He has usually had the poor example of his parents to spur him on to the point where intensive institutional treatment has been imperative.

CHAPTER VI - PREVIOUS PLACEMENT

Not more than a few decades ago it was common practice to remove a child from his home whenever there was the slightest indication that the family environment was not functioning at 100 percent efficiency or whenever the child displayed a behavior problem or engaged in delinquent activity. However, current practice in the field of child welfare has veered to the point of conserving and strengthening the family unity on the ground that the child's own home has more to offer toward a harmonious development than any other environment. The White House Conference on Children in a Democracy summarized the current position in these words:

> This conference recognizes that in a democracy responsibility for the care of children centers in the family. Social services furnish the means by which society helps to meet the special needs of children whose well-being cannot be fully assured by their families and by those community services that are intended for all children alike. The primary objective of child-welfare service is to provide for every child who has some special need whatever assistance and guidance may be required to assure him security and protection, within his own home if possible, and opportunity for his growth and development.[5]

There is the very definite feeling that a poor family home is often better than a good foster home. In his

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5 General Report, op. cit., p. 63.

own home the child has a sense of belonging as well as a feeling of social stability and security that can seldom be duplicated elsewhere. This unique sense of being in his rightful place means more to the child than the wiser training or the increased physical comfort which may be secured in another environment.

Regarding foster home placement, the Report Committee of the White House Conference on Children in a Democracy made the following recommendation: "Foster care should be utilized only after due consideration has been given to the possibility of maintaining the child in his own home under proper conditions."[6] Foster placement is considered mainly when the family has functioned very unsatisfactorily, when the home has been broken up, or when the child has been unable to adjust in his own home. Foster care is used in an effort to provide an environment which offers the most desirable elements of family life, while institutional care is sought when trained assistance is indicated or when foster home placement may not be practical. In either case, the break from family ties is very likely to add much to the difficulties which already encompass the

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6 "White House Conference on Children in a Democracy", Preliminary Statements. Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1940, p. 221.

child who is passing through the formative years of his life. For this reason, particular care must be taken in order to insure the success of the child's first placement. Every attempt should be made to see to it that such treatment will lessen his difficulties rather than increase them.

All boys who are enrolled at the Connecticut Junior Republic have experienced a separation from the family setting at least once in their lives. It is a significant fact that a large number of them have experienced not one, but several placements. Each placement has meant that certain ties have had to be broken, while further problems have developed. The memory of deplorable family conditions and of emotional needs unmet are fresh in their minds. Each shift from one environment to another has left marks of instability, of insecurity, of not belonging, of rejection, and of discouragement upon many of the boys.

Table #5 has been designed to present the facts regarding previous placement either with relatives, in foster homes, or in institutions. The material on which this table has been based is not entirely adequate because in several instances it was not possible to obtain accurate information regarding the number of placements which each boy has had. In such cases the writer made an estimation based on the material which was at hand. Where there was

TABLE #5

PREVIOUS PLACEMENT

		Number	Percent
Never Been Placed Away from Parent, or Parents		46	43
Always Lived with Both Parents	24		
Recently Lived Only with Mother	13		
Recently Lived with Mother and Stepfather	2		
Recently Lived Only with Father	6		
Recently Lived with Father and Stepmother	1		
Placed in Foster Homes Only		17	16
Number of Boys Having One Placement	11		
" " " " Two Placements	1		
" " " " Three "	1		
" " " " Four "	2		
" " " " Five "	1		
" " " " Seven "	1		
Placed with Relatives Only		7	6
Number of Boys Having One Placement	6		
" " " " Two Placements	1		
Placed in Institution Only		8	7
Number of Boys Having One Placement	8		
Those Having Two Different Types of Placement		26	24
Number of Boys having Two Placements	8		
" " " " Three "	5		
" " " " Four "	3		
" " " " Five "	2		
" " " " Six "	3		
" " " " Seven "	3		
" " " " Eight "	1		
" " " " Ten "	1		
Placed in Adoptive Homes		2	2
Enrolled at Military School		2	2
Total		108	100

reasonable doubt, he tended to underestimate. Thus the figures given in connection with Table #5 are probably a bit lower than they would be if additional facts had been available.

The following case studies are presented in order to show some of the typical problems and emotional upsets which these boys have faced. Because of the obvious nature of the material, no interpretation will be offered.

Joe Jewett at the age of 10 was removed from his home because both parents had cruelly neglected and abused him quite without apparent reason. He was placed in a foster home for a period of three years. During this time he received the best of care and formed a deep affectional relationship with the foster family. Then he was returned to his parents for a brief period; however, their attitude toward him had not substantially changed and the boy soon found himself in further conflict with them. Because of his age and the nature of his problems, he was ultimately advised to enroll at the Republic, where in addition to other advantages, a trade training could be secured.

Bob Lee is a boy who has experienced placement with his relatives and also with foster parents. When he was two years old his mother died of tuberculosis. His father had deserted the family shortly before that. The boy

lived with an over-indulgent maternal grandmother and an uncle for nearly eight years. Then the uncle, who had always been most interested in him, married a divorcee. Domestic misunderstandings soon arose and the uncle found it necessary to place Bob in a foster home in order to keep peace within his own family. The boy lived in this foster home for a period of two years, but finally had to be removed because the uncle could no longer afford to pay the expenses connected with this arrangement. Bob then entered the Republic, but found it difficult to make his initial adjustment because his father now began to show a superficial interest in him, raised his hopes, and then deeply disappointed him.

Roy Hill is a boy who has received two foster home placements. His mother was a fine woman who had been very good to him; however, she died when Roy was nine years of age. This left the boy completely in the hands of his pre-psychotic father. For a period of three years this young lad listened to the distorted ravings of a father who otherwise neglected him quite completely. When the father was finally institutionalized as a schizo-phrenic with delusions of persecution, Roy was placed in a foster home. The boy's affectional needs were so great and his sense of rejection so overwhelming that his untrained, domineering, and suspicious foster mother could not handle him. A second

foster mother was very understanding and worked exceptionally hard, but she too was no match for the deep problems existent in the boy. It was then that enrollment at the Connecticut Junior Republic was sought.

Ralph Well is an example of the boy who has had several placements. His mother died when he was four years old. She has been described as a chronic alcoholic and a periodic deserter who assumed no responsibility for her children. Ralph has greatly idealized her and resented another who assumed her place. His father would not stand for this and asked that a private agency find a suitable home for him. During the following year Ralph was unsuccessfully placed in five foster homes and ended up in an institution for children. He was later enrolled at the Junior Republic when it became evident that the previous institution was not equipped to meet the boy's needs.

In order to round out this discussion more completely it would be well to inquire into the placement homes and learn how satisfactory they have been. However, information regarding them is highly inadequate. Nevertheless, a few general statements can be made on the basis of the material at hand.

On the whole, the foster parents were interested in the children and did their best; however, the problems with which they were confronted were more suited to the talents of the trained worker than to the efforts of a lay person. There are a few instances where the foster parent provided good physical care, but did not attempt to understand or to supervise more adequately. Some foster parents were more interested in the money which they were receiving for their labors than in the development of their charges. There was some discrimination as well as a tendency to gossip about the boy with the neighbors, yet all this seems to have been definitely in the minority.

Information regarding the care provided by relatives is far more complete. In general, it is quite apparent that such care is not as valuable to the child as regular foster home placement is likely to be. Relatives are too close to the emotional side of the entire matter and are likely to have set prejudices one way or another. They know too much about the boy and his background and do not hesitate to expound their views freely. Several, intent upon proving themselves more capable than the parents, were too strict, domineering and nagging. Others, who either felt sorry for the child or wanted his affection, were overindulgent. A few provided a fairly objective type of care.

Summing up the role which previous placement has played in the poor emotional and social adjustment of these boys it may be said that approximately 57 percent of the entire group have received previous placement. In almost every one of these cases neither a family environment nor an average institutional routine was equal to the problems which were presented. Each boy has needed a more intensive type of treatment than he was getting. Each boy has required a more individual approach along with a greater understanding of his difficulties than the untrained person or the average institution could offer.

Approximately 43 percent of the entire group had never experienced previous placement. The sponsors of this group were wise enough to see that the Republic would be a better treatment center than any other environment for these boys. The remaining 57 percent were placed elsewhere first. Such a procedure has often done much harm to the boy by creating new problems and frequently by increasing his sense of insecurity, of not belonging, and of non-acceptance. It seems unfortunate that so many boys were moved from one foster home to another by those who were sure that this was the only solution to their problems. One lad was rushed through seven foster homes and one institution during a period of six months. Then his social workers sat back and began to

think! In most cases such a procedure was largely a matter of trying to fit jagged pegs into smooth holes.

One wonders if a more accurate initial diagnosis could have been made in a large number of these cases. It seems that more effort should have been made by those who were placing the boy in order to learn whether his problems were such that specialized and trained workers would be more valuable than lay or unspecialized assistance. It should be more readily apparent that boys like Roy Hill require more than a good family atmosphere to clear up their difficulties. Where the background is so full of sharp conflict, advanced insitutional treatment should be thought of as quickly as the foster home is considered for the less complex case. Not only would valuable time and expense be saved, but the boy would be spared additional conflict.

CHAPTER VII - THE BOY: CHRONOLOGICAL AND MENTAL AGE

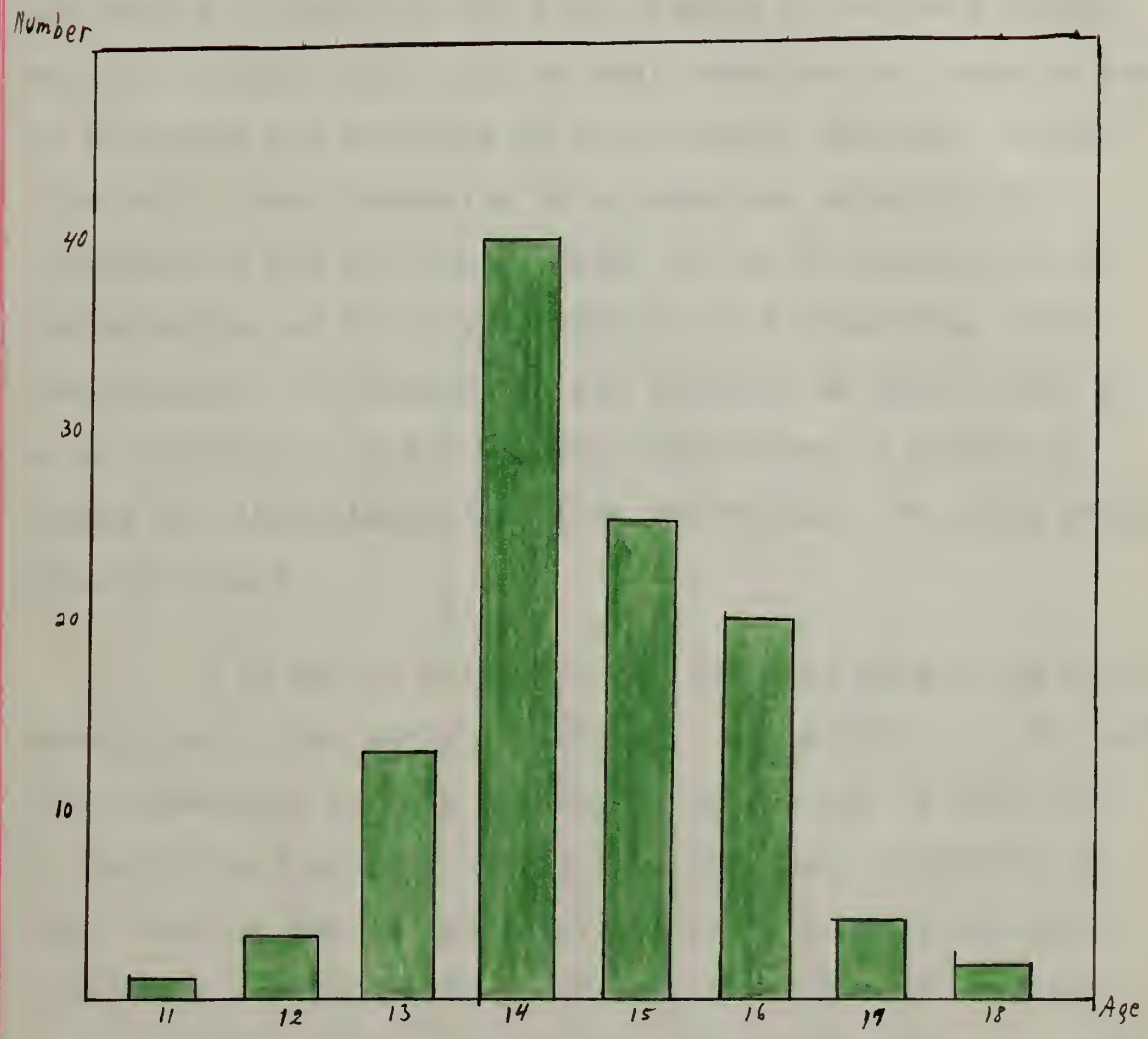
In the previous four chapters an attempt has been made to discuss the background of this particular group of boys in some detail. Now it is time to turn to a consideration of the boys themselves-- to examine their reactions to the problems with which they have been confronted, to study their personalities, and to discover their greatest needs.

It would be well to begin this discussion by briefly considering the age at which the boys were enrolled at the Connecticut Junior Republic. Graph #3 shows the number of boys enrolled at each age level. In general, the boys have been accepted from 13 - 16 years of age, with the largest percentage enrolled at the age of 14. Thus it is evident that enrollment was sought mainly by those in the adolescent stage of their development.

It is characteristic that at this delicate period of their lives; these boys should need trained assistance more than at any other time. Adolescence is a period of great change, fostering within the boy a renewed sense of self-consciousness, new interests, ambitions, and social status. During this difficult period the maturing personality of the individual unfolds as the end result of countless influences and forces which have hitherto molded it

GRAPH #3

NUMBER OF BOYS AT EACH AGE LEVEL



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according to their own desires and ambitions. Now the boy demands the right to think for himself and to be the type of person that he himself wants to be. He is no longer a child, but rather a sensitive individual who must find for himself the proper outlets for the great surges of restless energy which rise up within him. He must learn how to organize and to correlate his energies in constructive fashion. Toward this end a good foundation is an absolute necessity for otherwise he has nothing to guide him or to support him in the selection of his goals, outlets, and interests. When one considers the background and training of these boys, it is not difficult to see why they have found it easier to choose the dissocial rather than the social, the wrong rather than the right.

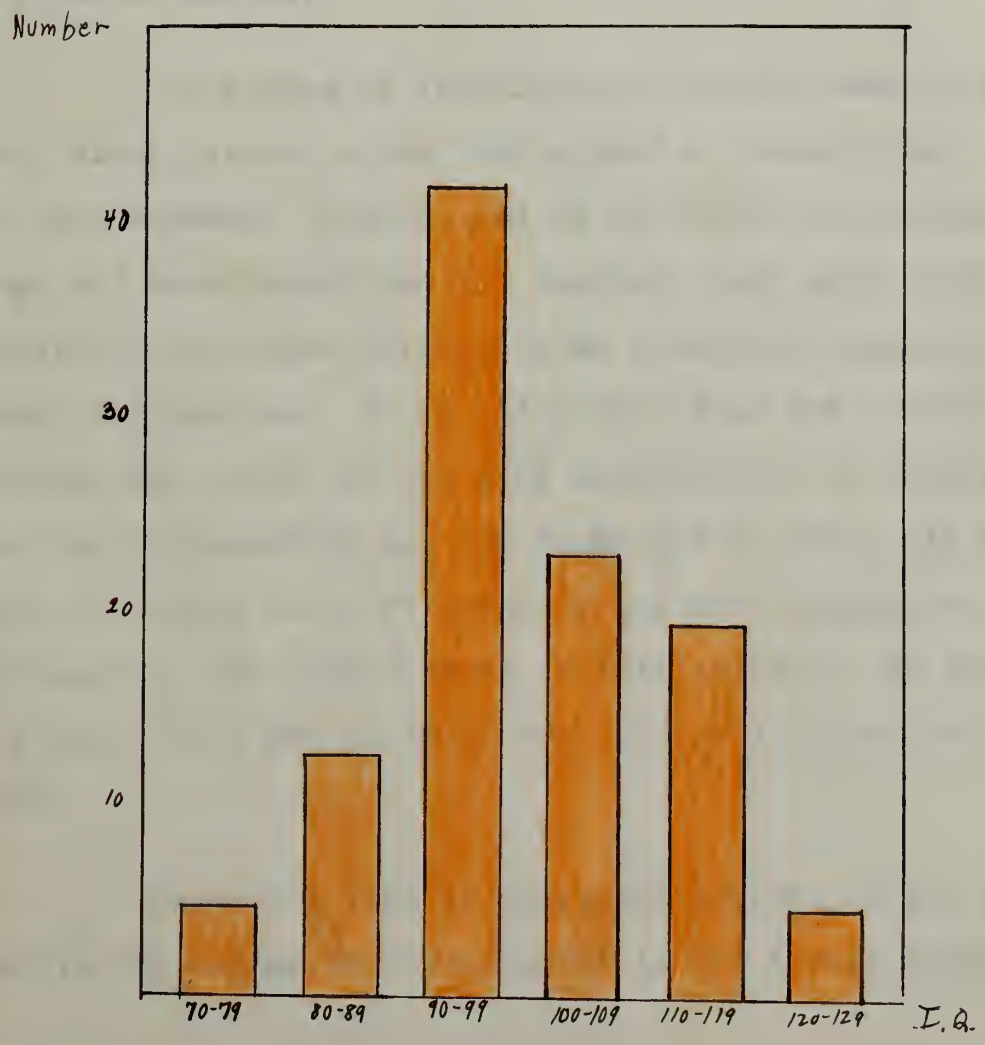
It may be said that the Republic program is most beneficial to the early adolescent. He is likely to be more fully receptive to this new way of living and is thus able to profit to a greater extent from all that is offered to him. The boy who is too immature fails to grasp the full significance behind each phase of his program and usually finds the economic structure too complex for effective use. The later adolescent is often rather deeply set in his maladjusted ways and will not avail himself very readily of the opportunities which are offered to him. Perhaps the most

timely moment for enrollment is when the boy has begun to show some signs of general maturity, for then his mind is active, in a state of development, and open to suggestion.

We turn now to a consideration of the general mental level of the group. Graph #4 presents a picture of the I.Q. range. It is based, for the most part on the scores

GRAPH #4

NUMBER OF BOYS IN EACH I.Q. GROUPING



which the boys made on the Otis S-A Higher Examination, Forms A and B. In a few instances the verbal score of the Wechsler-Bellevue Scale was taken where it was deemed more reliable. These examinations were administered by the visiting psychologist shortly after each boy's enrollment. At the lower end of the range there are two boys with an I.Q. of 77, while at the upper end there is one boy with an I.Q. of 124. Approximately 61 percent are somewhere between dull normal and superior normal.

The degree of intelligence has not been more than a very minor factor in the development of these boys. A few have been somewhat handicapped by an inability to reason things out more intelligently; however, they have often been protected from deeper difficulty by a natural simplicity of thought and emotion. It is quite true that the more intelligent the child is; the more sensitive he is likely to be to the complexities and the conflicts of life. As a whole, the group which we are studying are largely at, or very near to, the normal level of intelligence. In this one respect they are quite as well-equipped as the average child.

Under the type of treatment offered at the Junior Republic the degree of intelligence is not a very important

deterring factor in the process of re-education; however, it is obvious that the program cannot be geared to treat those in the moron group or lower. Otherwise there is a suitable type of vocational training available for every boy as well as a depth of understanding which makes it possible for each to receive a maximum amount of benefit.

CHAPTER VIII - THE BOY: JUVENILE COURT CONTACT AND DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

The average adolescent has a great amount of restless energy as well as a keen sensitivity to suggestion. If this energy is not transformed constructively, it is used destructively. Though bad company and street influences are not the underlying causes for dissocial behavior, they are the direct provocation for such activity. The child readily accepts the standards of his associates whether they be good or bad because to do otherwise would bring ridicule and rejection. However, when one probes more deeply he learns that there are further reasons why the boy chooses poor companions and why he so quickly falls into their ways. One learns too that the boy who engages in individual delinquency is greatly motivated by these same underlying causes. Aichhorn expresses it this way: "Dissocial behavior indicates that the psychic processes which determine behavior are not functioning harmoniously".[7] These psychic forces find no socially acceptable outlet and are therefore used for behavior which is at odds with society. The boy turns to the dissocial or to the more aggressively anti-social because of emotional and usually unconscious reasoning which forces him

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7 Aichhorn, op. cit, p. 38.

to adopt this means of expressing himself. Each is driven on by the effects which his own peculiar experiences have had upon him.

It has been, and still is, a common practice for the courts and others to concentrate their efforts on curing the overt expressions which the boy uses as outlets for his emotional energy. More advanced thought is showing that delinquency should be regarded more correctly as symptomatic behavior. One cannot cure the symptom and feel that in so doing he has cured the problem. The original conflict remains and a new symptomatic outlet will probably be sought by the individual.

The material contained in this chapter is presented with this thought in mind. The delinquent behavior of these boys is symptomatic of deep emotional trauma and very inadequate supervision. No attempt will be made to indicate the specific underlying causes for each boy's activity because such a procedure would undoubtedly require the use of lengthy case histories. The writer's purpose is to show how varied their delinquency and reasoning has been as well as to indicate both the cleverness and the obviousness of their methods.

Table #6 shows that nearly 50 percent of the entire group have been brought before the juvenile court at

some time or another, while three have been referred for two different general types of delinquency. The fact that 51 boys have been contacted by the juvenile court does not mean that these have been more delinquent than those who have not been contacted. It merely means that in many cases these boys have been caught, while the others have not.

TABLE #6

JUVENILE COURT CONTACT

		Number	Percent
Have Never Been Before the Juvenile Court		57	53
Have Officially Been Before the Juvenile Court		48	44
Reasons:			
Individual Delinquency	25		
Group Delinquency	15		
Complaint of Incorrigibility	9		
Running Away from Foster Homes	2		
Have Unofficially Been Contacted by the Juvenile Court		3	3
Reasons:			
Running Away from Home	2		
Complaint of Incorrigibility	1		
Total		108	100

A more comprehensive picture of the delinquency of the entire group is obtained from an examination of Table #7 which shows the number of boys reported to have indulged in each of a number of delinquent acts prior to their enrollment at the Junior Republic. Since this table is based on material supplied, for the most part, by those other than

the boy himself, some of the figures are probably lower than they would be if more complete information were available. It is needless to say that some of the boys have managed to keep certain of their delinquent activities from the knowledge of adults.

TABLE #7

NUMBER OF BOYS ENGAGING IN EACH TYPE OF DELINQUENT BEHAVIOR

	Number	Percent
Stealing	64	60
Incorrigibility	43	40
Much Truanting from School	33	30
School Behavior Problem	30	27
Undesirable Companions	30	27
Running Away from Home	21	19
Lying	20	18
Sexual Misconduct	14	13
Breaking and Entering	9	8
Destruction	9	8
Forgery	2	2
Counterfeiting United States Coin	1	1
Hold-up	1	1
No Delinquent Behavior Noted	10	9

At least 60 percent of the group have repeatedly engaged in stealing of either a petty or a serious nature. They have stolen from strangers, benefactors, and neighbors as well as from their parents. Some have been unbelievably clever, while others have been intentionally obvious. Several have taken small amounts of change from the pocketbooks of their parents, while others have stolen small articles from the counters of cheap stores. Some have made the

rounds of parked cars and taken what they wanted; others have specialized in taking just the gasoline from such unprotected cars. Several have stolen bicycles and automobiles; while one boy stole a truck, crashed it into a house, and fled. Another lad organized a gang for stealing milk bottles and selling them to stores. One very innocent-looking chap was apprehended several times for his repeated thefts on street cars. His technique was to ask for the help of a kindly street car conductor; then while clinging to his new friend for sympathy, he would extract the coins from the change machine fastened at the man's belt.

Each boy has been prompted by his own peculiar line of reasoning and each has been searching for some special type of satisfaction. Some have taken things which they could not otherwise have; others have stolen because the gang encouraged it. Several stole money so that they might impress others on whom they spent it. One of these stole $50 at one time and $40 a second time in order to gain the admiration of various girl friends. One lad, who was unable to control an obsession for stealing guns, became most clever in breaking into houses and getting these guns. Intensive treatment has brought out the fact that a most complex mental conflict was responsible for his behavior. A quiet introvertive lad felt greatly over-shadowed by his two older brothers who were aggressive extroverts. He committed

two thefts in order to prove to himself that he had the nerve to do such things. Another boy stole two watches in the hope that he would be removed from his home. The family conditions were most unsatisfactory and an older brother was then enrolled at the Republic. This chap wanted to be with his brother and liked the school well enough to work his way in.

The incorrigible boy usually feels greatly wronged, frustrated, and rejected. His parents have shown no love for him and have often provided little or no supervision. His normal desires for affection and parental understanding have been thwarted. Unable to remain passive any longer, he sets out to obtain satisfaction in one form or another. He frequently has hate uppermost in his mind and the gang to back him up. He feels that everyone is against him and so he fights them all. The sense of freedom which comes at adolescence is all that he needs to drive him on to further and more daring delinquency. Beginning with minor disobedience, the incorrigible quickly becomes thoroughly out of hand, often becoming very defiant and using temper tantrums of a most violent and destructive nature in order to express himself better. He is stubborn, disrespectful, unruly, and unco-operative. He accepts no discipline and rebels against all authority, while reasoning and punishment have little or no effect upon him. He frequently presents

the aspect of a selfish brute who no longer cares for anyone or anything beyond his own vague ideas of getting satisfaction by force.

A fair percentage of the boys have frequently truanted from school, some as many as 40 days in two months, while others have simply quit altogether. Several have refused to go because they didn't want to; others have offered the excuses that they didn't like either the curriculum or the teachers. A few boys have been so restless that they could not remain in a classroom and would be found sitting in the basement. Several have felt out of place in the school group, while others considered themselves ready for permanent employment. One of the more quietly appealing instances concerns 13 year old, naive Jimmy Lark. Jimmy's mother was dead and his father was working. There was no one on hand to get the boy ready for school and so he just didn't go.

Approximately 27 percent of the boys were reported as presenting behavior problems in the schoolroom. Some of these desired attention so badly that they were ready to resort to any means at all in order to obtain it. They were annoying to their teachers and quarrelsome with their classmates; they insisted upon attracting the attention of other boys either by clever trickery or by rough play.

Others resented the authority which was exerted over them and became surly, disobedient, defiant, impudent, and bold. They frequently violated the rules and often had to be disciplined. A few boys had conscious problems on their minds and could not concentrate on their lessons. They were very restless and often displayed a violent temper when aroused. The work was too difficult for some of the boys to handle and so they became trouble-some when repeated failures brought ridicule, nagging, and a general lack of understanding. Several boys had natural reading disabilities and were thereby handicapped in accomplishing what was expected of them. A few boys were reported as constant daydreamers and these exhibited a lack of both attention and interest. On the whole, all of the boys were failing to adjust well in the school mainly because of difficulties in the home. Many of them needed a more individualized treatment, but this was not possible where the teachers were working with large classes and under the great pressure of trying to get a prescribed amount of knowledge into the heads of unwilling children.

Nearly three-quarters of the boys were not reported as presenting any particular school problems. Many of these were able to accept the school and its authority without too much trouble; others looked to it as a haven from the unpleasantness of family conflicts and difficulties.

Some of the boys were probably quiet daydreamers who unobtrusively fantasied their way through the school hours; others were content to curb their activities until away from the school. On the whole, their patterns of behavior did not materially differ from those of their classmates.

Most boys belong to some gang or neighborhood club. When banded together these groups occasionally get into mischief, but by and large they are not harmful to the child. However, when these gangs engage in repeated acts of delinquency, they begin to have a serious effect upon the individual member. Approximately 30 of the boys have definitely been associated with undesirable companions. In all probability this is a very low figure. The standards of such a group become the standards of each member. Often the boy has been taught nothing different and so he readily conforms. Others find that acceptance by the gang is more important than acceptance by anyone else. Aided by the gang influence the boy usually gets further and further out of control.

Several of these boys have belonged to gangs which have definitely specialized in some particular type of delinquency, while others have been members of groups which have operated on a broader basis. Some gangs were organized for stealing purposes. Mention has already been

made of one lad who interested a group in stealing milk bottles and selling them to stores. Another boy belonged to a gang whose business it was to steal copper and sell it. Several boys stole automobiles on a group basis. Some gangs specialized in the destruction of private or public property, while other gangs engaged in certain pre-delinquent activities such as ringing in false alarms and sneaking into theaters. One of the boys belonged to a group which specialized in gambling of the slot machine and dice game variety. The boy who is a member of any one of these gangs soon becomes a thorough-going delinquent. He stays out late at night and roams the streets with his friends, looking for suitable prey. Unless checked, he becomes the youthful criminal who not long after finds himself pacing the floor of a prison cell and making plans for a more clever "racket" upon his release.

When living away from the family circle seems far more attractive than living at home, many boys will run away. When things become unbearable, some begin to look for a distant spot which they hope will bring them happiness, others take to the road simply to put distance between themselves and their problems. Some boys carefully plan their trips, while others go on the spur of the moment and have no definite goal in mind. One boy ran away because he felt thoroughly out of place and unhappy in his home. His

father was strict and apparently lacking all sense of understanding, while his unsympathetic stepmother frequently made things difficult for him with her lies. Another lad had come to this country at the age of 11 and keenly felt the conflict between the two cultures. His father was strict and unsympathetic, while his stepmother was rejecting, cruel, and nagging. The boy deserted his home on two occasions and was found both times living at the city dump. A third boy looked to California for happiness and was found on route after having broken into his mother's trunk and taken several hundred dollars worth of jewelry. Most of the boys have used the reasoning that if they could only get away, their problems would clear up. They also use this same reasoning after their enrollment at the Republic. It is interesting to note here an incident involving one lad who was successful in deserting the school. He voluntarily returned two months later and was sincere in saying that he now realized that his problems could not be solved satisfactorily by the act of running away.

According to Table #7, 20 boys have been inveterate and accomplished liars. They are the ones who have formed the habit of telling untruths on the slightest provocation. For the most part, they have received little understanding for their parents and have found it necessary to be able to lie convincingly when in trouble.

The term "sexual misconduct" has been used only in connection with those who have engaged in serious sexual irregularity of one kind or another. It is undoubtedly true that the figures given in this table are quite low since some boys have probably engaged in sexual delinquency and yet were not discovered. The writer did not include those boys who were reported as occasional masturbators; however, one lad was checked since he presented a definite problem as an excessive masturbator, while a few others were checked because they had been teaching their associates how to masturbate. One boy was found to have been undressing little girls, while another had attempted relations with both his sister and some of his friends. A few boys had gone out looking for father substitutes and had ended up by engaging in relations with homosexual men. One lad exhibited himself on three occasions, while another was found to have had relations with his foster father. The most severe sex delinquent of the group had engaged in relations with his sisters, brothers, and cousins. Incest was so rampant in the home that the state Bureau of Child Welfare had found it necessary to break up the family.

Nine boys were apprehended by the juvenile court on charges of breaking and entering. One of these belonged to a gang which was organized for this purpose. The group was finally brought before the court after having broken

into a shack and taken $100 worth of goods. Most of the other boys were caught individually. Several were apprehended after breaking into stores and private homes, while one of these had a gun in his possession. One lad combined destruction with his breaking and entering and did great damage to several summer cottages as well as to a public school.

Of the boys who were reported as being purely destructive, most of them were those who would lose their tempers and then rip their clothing, ruin furniture, or break whatever they could lay their hands on. However, one boy was apprehended with a gang who had been tying large iron plates on railroad tracks. This gang was also given to throwing these plates around in order to break whatever they aimed at.

Four boys were brought before the courts on more serious charges than those mentioned above. One of these was taken before the federal court because he had been crudely counterfeiting United States coin in the school workshop. He had made his impressions by placing a good dime against a lead slug, and then applying pressure. It was felt that he had not realized the full import of what he was doing, yet one of his other delinquencies was fully as serious. In company with a friend he had begun an extortion note to the father of a girl who had jilted the friend; however, he had

not followed this through. There were two further juvenile court contacts when he had been apprehended along with a gang which was engaging in delinquency of the prank type. The home situation was not good. His father became ill when the boy was nine years old. He was confined to his bed for seven years, neurotic and in much pain, yet maintaining a rigid set of demands and trying to direct all family activity from this spot. The mother, though nervous and frail, has done an excellent piece of work under impossible conditions.

One boy at the age of 16 was brought before the juvenile court on the serious charge of having held up and robbed a gas station. This was his only act of delinquency and appears to have been more the result of a sudden desire to assert himself than a careful premeditated attempt to begin a career of crime. He was emotionally withdrawn, strongly inhibited, and quite generally immature. His father, who had been gassed in the first World War, had at first exhibited suicidal tendencies, then had gone insane, and finally had committed suicide. His death occurred when the boy was 10 years old. His mother was engaging in sexual relations with various men and was not making any attempt to give the boy the affection and supervision that he so badly needed.

Two boys were apprehended on charges of forgery. One of these at the age of 13 was endorsing checks which he or his gang had either found or stolen. He was quite confused in his thinking and felt that where poor people were concerned, there should be no difference between right and wrong. His father had been in court on several occasions for both adultery and non-support. The parents had separated several times and during the boy's difficulty, the father was living illicitly with another woman. The mother has been described as being hysterical, emotional, immature, uneven, and uncontrolled. She often talked of suicide and frequently suffered from petit-mal-like attacks caused by a brain tumor. The second boy was 18 years of age at the time of his court contact. His father had died four years previous. The mother was quite unable to obtain the boy's respect and alternately indulged and nagged him. Much tension existed between the boy and an older brother. He was reacting to all this by getting very much out of control and by stealing, lying and forging checks.

Before closing this discussion it would be well for the writer to mention briefly the 10 boys who have apparently not engaged in any of the aforementioned acts of delinquency. In every one of these cases there had been a strong possibility of severe emotional trauma due either to the death, insanity, or immorality of the parents. Because

of this fact plus the existence of certain personality traits it was feared that these boys might easily become delinquent unless removed from their immediate environments. Enrollment at the Junior Republic was sought chiefly because both an impersonal discipline and an understanding guidance are offered as well as a good trade training. One lad was extremely shy and quite moody. Both of his parents were committed to institutions for the psychotic. It was felt that wholesome contact with others of his own age, deeper relationships, general understanding, and a vocational training could best be provided by the Republic. Another boy was enrolled mainly in order to learn a trade and to lose his effeminate manner through close association with other boys. His mother had deserted; while his father, who was living illicitly with other women, did not want to be bothered with a son. A third was thoroughly unhappy and was showing signs of early pre-delinquency. His father was dead, while his mother's rejection made him feel quite out of place. A fourth boy was lacking in proper supervision and it was feared that he would enter active delinquency. His mother had died during a condition of insanity, while his father had been institutionalized as an alcoholic. The other six cases follow the same patterns as these four. All of them strongly present the possibility of deep emotional trauma, insufficient supervision, a lack of understanding and affection as well as

potential delinquency. Where all of these elements exist, advanced institutional treatment is of greater potential value than foster home placement. Trained workers with many facilities at hand are better equipped than the unprofessional foster mother whose efforts are more applicable to the less complex problems of younger children.

CHAPTER IX - THE BOY: HIS PERSONALITY

Not all children react to damaging environmental influences and grave emotional trauma in the manner in which this particular group of boys has. Under great pressure many of them develop their strengths rather than their weaknesses. They apparently grow more dependable, increasingly self-reliant, and more resistent to the temptations of such an existence. When unable to obtain the basic satisfactions of life in their own natural environments, they take the initiative to look elsewhere and to secure them in a manner which has the approval of society in general and not of some isolated and self-gratifying group in particular. Why is it that such a child emerges from severe set-backs and handicaps as a well-adjusted and socially oriented individual, while another readily becomes maladjusted and easily chooses the anti-social as his central outlet?

The answer to this question rests within the individual himself. In order to attain inner harmony as well as a good social adjustment, he must possess the general strength of character which provides him with a certain capacity for fighting each difficulty as well as with the ability to try again when temporarily halted by things over which he has no control. He is thus enabled to endure an excess of emotional tension and yet retain and even re-double all

efforts toward the realization of reasonable goals. Such a natural strength of character varies greatly among individuals. Those who have little or none of it are unable to adjust to the more common difficulties of life. Others may be stronger, yet their problems and handicaps are often greater still.

In general, the particular group of boys whom we have been studying is composed mainly of those who have not been equal to their difficulties, those who have not possessed the necessary strength of character to fight themselves free of damaging conflict. Thus each one has been quite dependent upon others for the satisfaction of his deeper needs and for the direction of his energies. If his parents, as the logical persons, are in some way unable to do these things, he becomes deeply insecure and full of conflicting forces. His difficulties are heightened when other environmental persons also fail to have a wholesome effect upon him. Under such conditions it seems quite natural for him to choose the anti-social as an outlet for his emotional energies.

In order to determine more specifically what the dominant characteristics of these boys were at the time of their enrollment, the writer examined carefully the reports concerning each boy submitted by the visiting psychiatrist

and the resident psychologist. Each factor on the master list was checked only when a marked tendency to exhibit that particular characteristic had been noted. Table #8 contains the results of this study and should be considered as indicative of the general group personality. Any inadequacies or inaccuracies which may be found in these figures are due entirely to the limitations of the writer whose interpretations have been a part of each judgment recorded in this table.

TABLE #8

PERSONALITY FACTORS IN THE BOY

	Number	Percent
General Immaturity	70	65
Periods of Moodiness and Discouragement.	55	51
Feeling of Inferiority	44	40
Impulsive	37	34
Suggestible	35	32
Temper Inclination	34	31
Restless	31	29
Depressed Personality	30	28
Show-off	29	27
Sensitive	21	19
Easy-going	21	19
Withdrawn	19	17
Neurotic or Neurotic Trait	15	14
Defensive	13	12
Primitive	11	10
Flighty	7	6

The figures given above offer a fairly accurate picture of the instability which characterizes approximately 92 percent of the entire group. Each of these boys has been

dominated by three or four of these characteristics as well as by others which will be mentioned briefly near the close of this chapter. The remaining eight percent were, on the whole, quite steady and apparently rather well-adjusted. They appear to have possessed a greater strength of character than the other boys and were enrolled, as has already been pointed out, mainly in an attempt to prevent possible delinquency and also to secure a good all-around training. Though they have experienced the emotional trauma and lack of supervision mentioned in earlier chapters of this thesis, they have been better equipped to combat the poor influences of so unfortunate a background. Since these boys are distinctly in the minority, they will not be included in the discussion which follows.

A large percentage of the boys have exhibited evidences of general immaturity. This is, of course, to be expected since most of them are early adolescents who have not as yet begun to mature to any appreciable extent. For many this immaturity has acted as something of a protective mechanism which has shielded the individual from the full impact of environmental trauma. Some of the boys have unconsciously sought to delay the development of maturity in order to avoid temporarily the added responsibilities of more adult life as well as the more complex conflicts which would undoubtedly arise through a greater feeling of self-

consciousness. The immature individual reacts toward life on an emotional level. He is childish and happy-go-lucky, often naive and superficial. His extrovertive tendencies are usually dominant since his capacity for introversion has not as yet been developed. He often acts quickly and perhaps thoughtlessly in an impulsive manner. He is quite dependent upon others and requires their attention and interest as well as their understanding and guidance.

Those who have been described as "restless" have a greater than average supply of vague and disorganized nervous energy. By and large, such additional energy has been created by emotional tensions and mental conflicts which gravely upset the child and may force all else from his mind. The restless child is often unable to concentrate on his school work or to sit still for any length of time. He may become a school and community behavior problem because he readily uses his energies for mischief, destruction, and perhaps delinquency. Approximately 31 boys have exhibited varying degrees of restlessness, while 7 more are better described as being flighty. A few examples will serve to indicate the specific types of restlessness as observed in these particular boys. One lad would become very uneasy when in a crowd and was often unable to stand in line to await his turn at the clinic. He was a school behavior problem, using violent temper tantrums as explosive outlets for

some of his energies. Another boy was not only restless during the day, but being unable to sleep at night he would spend hours sitting by the window. When sleep finally did come, he experienced violent dreams during which he would yell and toss about. There were also stealing and sexual difficulties.

A large number of boys are subject to moodiness and easy discouragement, another indication of the general instability of the group. These particular boys have periods of despondency, blue spells, fits of depressiveness, and the like. Their mood swings are more pronounced than the average, while the slightest occurrence may turn the tide one way or the other. Some boys become discouraged and moody as they begin to think about their own particular problems-- of a possible lack of acceptance, of not fitting in with the group, of having inherited a condition of insanity, and so forth. Others worry about their own physical or mental inferiority. Many have periods during which they simply experience the vague, undefined feeling of being down.

Some of these moody boys display a definite neurosis, while a few others exhibit neurotic traits. Several boys feel discriminated against and react by becoming very suspicious of everyone. Others feel their former rejections so keenly that they must make all kinds of demands mainly

upon those in authority. The fulfillment of such demands temporarily proves to them that they are not being rejected again. One lad, a good example of the neurotic child, is very immature and impulsive with an extreme degree of excitability. He has grave temper difficulties, displays a great inability to concentrate, is highly nervous, and has a strong desire to impress. He is positive that everyone is discriminating against him and also that everyone is ridiculing him. The boy who has already been mentioned in connection with his obsession for stealing guns is an example of one who displays a neurotic trait. A second lad worries a great deal over his own capacities and is also inclined to pay too much attention to detail. A third boy, who is most sensitive, is given to great boasting.

Those who have been characterized as being withdrawn or seclusive have exhibited a noticeable tendency to retreat from social situations as well as to withdraw emotionally from life in general. They appear to be indifferent, inert, unaggressive passive, and shy. They have a rich fantasy life which permits them to obtain imaginatively those satisfactions which real life does not give them. All of these boys are pre-schizoid to some extent.

One of the most common feelings of childhood is that of being inferior, of not being equal to one's environ-

ment. Such a feeling is usually combined with a sense of insecurity. A common reaction for the boy has been either to show off or to become quite defensive. He lacks self-confidence and may compensate by trying to appear otherwise, or by defending everything that he does. Many of the boys have felt very inferior on a physical basis either because of their small size or because of some bodily condition which has handicapped them. Others have felt inferior because of family or other rejection. A few boys have felt insecure because their interests were somewhat different from those of the average boy and they had been unable to fit in with their neighborhood groups. One lad displayed his feeling of insecurity by hiding under his bed when gripped by fears of the dark and of being kidnapped. He compensated for a sense of inferiority by obtaining a feeling of power through bullying his associates and through cruelty to animals. Another boy was led to feel very inferior by a grandmother who kept ridiculing and belittling him for the fact that his father was part Indian. A third boy developed a strong desire to be eminently successful because his illiterate foreign-born parents made him feel so inferior.

Several boys have used their tempers in a show of defiance or in order to obtain what may have been denied them. Others have been unable to express their sense of great frustration in any other way. Though some have been

able to control their tempers quite well, others have not. On the whole, the presence of a temper inclination is a further indication of the basic instability which has been so important a factor in the distorted development of these boys.

Quite a few of the group have so repressed or inhibited their emotions that they may be termed as "depressed personalities". Some have suppressed their extrovertive tendencies only, while others have almost completely suppressed both their extrovertive and their introvertive trends. The child with a depressed personality is unable to express his feelings or to display his emotions. He finds it very difficult to talk with anyone about his problems and often gets into deeper trouble by trying to work his conflicts through unaided. The main cause for his great inhibition is usually found in a strong fear of being misunderstood and of thereby being made the object of much ridicule. He has the experience of the past to act as a constant reminder of the fact that he has not been able to trust others before, and so he has found it easier to keep his feelings to himself than to endure their lack of understanding.

At least 25 percent of the boys possess a practical rather than a theoretical intelligence. In several instances the individual parent or teacher may not have been cognizant of this fact and consequently expected more of the

the boy than he was able to produce. The sense of hopelessness or of continued failure which the boy received often caused him to make an attempt to prove himself on another level. He usually picked some daring delinquency for this purpose.

In addition to the characteristics noted in Table #8 there are others which were important factors in some of the individual cases. Some boys were essentially self-centered and therefore much more interested in their own interests and desires than in those of anyone else. Others have displayed amazingly little concern either for ethics or for morals. Several were colorlessly stereotype both in their interests and attitudes. A few were dominated by a great desire to excel. They were willing to have success or prestige at any price and were ready to attain it in any form at all. Some boys were thoroughly aggressive, while others were highly argumentative.

On the whole, the boys who have been enrolled at the Connecticut Junior Republic are those who have not possessed the necessary general strength of character to overcome the grave handicaps of emotional trauma and inadequate supervision. They have been fundamentally unstable and this instability has proven to be a very strong element in their

poor emotional development as well as in their confused and distorted social adaptation.

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CHAPTER X - THE BOY: HIS NEEDS

The fulfillment of two general needs is quite essential for all of the boys who have been considered in connection with this thesis. These are the needs for inner harmony with one's self and for outer harmony with one's fellowmen. Inner or personal harmony embodies a sense of stability or of constancy as well as a general maturity, a certain firmness of character, and a definite strength of purpose or resolution. Outer or social harmony is something akin to social security. It is the need for self-confidence and self-assurance in dealing with one's fellowmen, for a freedom from conflict and from fear. It is the purpose of this chapter to discuss the various specific needs which form an integral part of the more general requirements of personal and social harmony. These are so complex and so inter-related, so universal among the boys, that a statistical listing would serve only to mislead.

Earlier chapters have shown the major role which inadequate supervision has played in the unbalanced development of a large percentage of these boys. It is to be expected then that general supervision along with guidance and discipline should be among their greater needs. Many of the boys were removed from their homes partly because they were not receiving proper training and guidance. They have

been lacking in consistent care for they have been alternately indulged and abused, strictly disciplined and cruelly neglected. All of these boys need wise guidance toward the development of healthy maturity. They need the opportunity to grow up and to exchange a wholesome spirit of self-sufficiency for the wild, uncontrolled, and self-directed independence of their earlier years. They must be guided and counseled in their choice of emotional outlets as well as in their choice of companions. They must be taught perseverence and self-control. They need a certain definiteness of training along with routine supervision in order to counteract the ill effects of previous disorganized activity. Some need strict discipline, while others need a more relaxed type of supervision. Many need an impersonal authority which places little emotional demand upon them. In the last analysis, each boy needs the kind of guidance, supervision, and discipline which is best-suited to his own individual experiences, patterns, and deficiencies.

This leads quite naturally to a consideration of the boy's need for understanding-- that is, to his need for the delicate assistance of one who is able to feel with him and thus to know very clearly what he is facing and how he can best be helped. These boys have received so little understanding in the past that they have had to develop an ability to lie convincingly, to make use of the anti-social,

to follow the ideals of the gang, and to accept the influence of others who were unfit to act as guides. They have been unable to find the normal and socially approved satisfactions for such basic needs as their desires for new experience, affection, acceptance, recognition, and response. Furthermore, they have faced grave rejection and emotional frustration. So it is that they now require an understanding environment where they can be given the opportunity to develop normally and happily. They need a certain freedom in their choices as well as a certain protection against unwise selections. They need to acquire an appreciation of social values under the patient and painstaking guidance of those who know how to rejuvenate a damaged life. They need not one, but several training facilities wisely put to use. Above all they need a depth of insight and understanding which the trained worker is best-equipped to provide.

The boy not only needs to have an understanding environment, but he also needs to have an understanding of himself. It is usually true that the individual seldom realized how greatly his behavior has been influenced by the painful experiences of his life. Such experiences have often been so unpleasant that he has had to repress their content as well as the emotions which accompanied them. In order to treat such a boy's dissocial behavior successfully

some of this repressed content must be liberated and insight given. Help must be offered to him in working his personality difficulties through and in facing his problems seriously. He should be given the opportunity to find relief through the confession and discussion of his conflicts. Here his ultimate goal is to attain an understanding of himself and of the part that he will play in the community to which he returns.

In order to achieve and maintain a sense of personal and social harmony, one needs to have confidence in himself. He needs to feel capable of competing with his fellowmen and sure of his ability to meet each new problem which life has to offer. He needs to feel that he is every bit as efficient as his associates and that in some particular area he is better than they. Such a feeling is, to a large extent, dependent upon the amount of acceptance and affection, achievement and encouragement which the individual has experienced.

A large number of these boys have felt rejected rather than accepted. Many have been either neglected or in some other way made to feel unwanted by their parents. They need to find some adequate form of acceptance by those whom they love and respect as parental substitutes. Some boys have been poorly handled in their previous placement

homes, while others have been shifted from one environment to another, never remaining long enough in one place to obtain genuine acceptance. These boys need to find both the personal acceptance of adults and the general sense of acceptance which is implied in a constant and friendly environment. Some of the boys need the acceptance of others of their own age. They may have been denied full membership in the neighborhood group because of physical inferiority, a personal idiosyncracy, different interests, or perhaps a lack of social orientation. Other boys may have been trying to compete on a level which was above their abilities and need to find acceptance on their own levels.

Such acceptance must carry with it a feeling of genuine affection, of emotional attachment, or of personal interest. Every child needs to have a bond of mutual attachment between himself and those whom he can regard as adequate parental figures. He is immeasurably influenced by those whom he loves and admires and whose acceptance he actively seeks. A large number of the boys whom we have been studying have been denied normal parental affection and have attempted to obtain its counterpart from the gang, from teachers, from unresponsive adults, from homosexual men, and from others who were in some way unprepared or ill-equipped to accept such a responsibility. They have been willing to change their ethical and moral standards as

well as their mode of behavior in order to obtain some show of affection. They are emotionally starved and need the affectionate response of approved mother and father substitutes. They need a warm and friendly environment where they can feel wanted and loved. Furthermore, they need good relationships with other boys in order to experience the loyalty and friendship of those nearer their own levels. The successful rehabilitation of a damaged personality is effected only by those who love the boy and who have also been able to gain his affection in return.

Many boys find acceptance and self-confidence through some kind of achievement. Recognized success allows one to feel that he is particularly efficient in some area and enables him to accept criticism and even defeat in another area. A majority of these boys were denied the satisfaction of socially approved achievement, and so they attempted to acquire it through delinquency of one kind or another. Here at least they have received the applause of their associates who were similarly motivated. Other boys have been so ridiculed, so misunderstood, so concerned with their own inadequacies, or so completely dominated by others that they have built up a considerable sense of failure. Some of these have found success only in their fantasy lives. Such boys are badly in need of some real success of any kind. The entire group needs to learn that there are cer-

tain incomparable satisfactions to be gained through achievement in their trades, in their hobbies, in their athletics, in various forms of leadership, and in decent living.

Yet achievement is meaningless and uncontrolled when not sincerely and wisely encouraged. Each bit of encouragement in some degree raises the boy's opinion of himself and gives him added confidence in his own abilities and capabilities. Each word of approval gives him a better conception of values and indicates the direction toward which his efforts should be turned. Tangible and outstanding successes may easily be encouraged, but one should not overlook the more intangible victories which are far more important than those apparent splashes of achievement. Each genuine effort which the boy makes toward a more harmonious development should meet with some sign of approval. In this manner the boy receives a feeling of general progress; he gets a better idea of what he is striving for; he begins to develop an appreciation of long-range values; and he begins to experience those deeper satisfactions which are an integral part of harmonious living. Thus through acceptance and affection, achievement and encouragement a feeling of self-confidence and of self-assurance is developed and strengthened.

Most of these boys are badly in need of a wholesome and practical goal toward which they may strive. Some have never consciously tried to set up a life goal and need to begin thinking in terms of the future and what it can hold for them. They need to substitute a definite life plan for aimless wandering or perhaps vague struggle. They require expert vocational guidance as well as tactful ethical and moral direction. Others need new goals to replace those of lawlessness, self-gratification, and cheap glamour. Where they have set their goals far above or quite below their capacities, they need to modify in some way. Where parental or other domination has too greatly conditioned their choices, they need to develop enough independence and courage to make their own selections. For some boys this goal will take the form of trade pride and a desire to be a top-ranking man in that field. For others it will embody more abstract ideas of successful and harmonious living. Some boys will need to adopt socially approved personal standards, while others will need to develop an unselfish goal to replace a selfish outlook. All of these boys must be able to picture themselves in happy and harmonious adult life, as successful and well-placed individuals.

Several boys need genuine happiness where there has been tremendous emotional frustration and rejection. They need to learn that life can be pleasant and that heart-

ache, tragedy, and unhappiness are not the only experiences in store for them. A few others have found little satisfaction in anything which they have done and have regarded life as empty and dull. They need to learn that there are deeper and intensely satisfying experiences if one knows how to obtain them. They need to find that life can be rich and full and that they have only skimmed along its surface.

Summing up, the particular boys who have been considered in connection with this thesis have entered the Republic full of many complex and inter-related needs. In general, each boy has required personal and social harmony, genuine re-education and re-orientation. In addition to supervision and guidence, he has needed an understanding environment as well as an understanding of himself and the role which he will play in the community to which he will return. Among his emotional requirements are those involving affection and acceptance, achievement and encouragement. Furthermore, he needs a good life plan toward which to direct his efforts and his energies. Above all, he requires a depth of insight and understanding which only the trained and specialized worker is in a position to provide.

The Connecticut Junior Republic is well-equipped to answer these needs on an individual basis. Each part of its program has been oriented toward the fulfillment of the

particular needs of its charges. Under such treatment symptomatic delinquency no longer constitutes a major problem, while adequate outlets for emotional energy are constantly being discovered and strengthened.

CHAPTER XI - CONCLUSION

The Connecticut Junior Republic is, to a large extent, serving the lower income and unemployed groups. The children of such families have had greater handicaps than those who have not felt economic pressures so keenly. They have known what it is to lack proper food and clothing and have known the heartache of being denied some luxury which their associates have been able to enjoy. They have had constantly before them the figure of a parent who has not been able to make the grade economically and perhaps emotionally and morally as well. The mother of such a household has had a difficult burden to carry and was often discouraged and unhappy. Having more to do than she could handle, she was usually unable to offer effective discipline, training, and supervision for her offspring. Where the home was crowded and dirty and the family relationships none too pleasant, the child has turned to places which have appeared more attractive to him. This has often made him an easy prey to the unwholesome influences of the street or the alley.

The home life of the child has undoubtedly had a greater effect upon his personal and social development than any other force which may have been brought to bear upon him. If the family unity is either partially or completely broken, as it was in 71 percent of the cases, serious harm

can be done to the child for he no longer lives under normal conditions and thus a handicap has been placed upon him. Two factors-- inadequate supervision and great emotional trauma-- have entered in to each of these homes with devastating efficiency. Conditions in the unbroken homes were no better for only seven boys received what, comparatively speaking, might be termed as "good" parental care. Thus in nearly 95 percent of the cases the parents did not or could not satisfactorily fulfill their duties. Inadequate supervision gave their children both time and opportunity to get into all kinds of trouble, while traumatic experiences sent them out in daring attempts to find in abnormal ways the normal satisfactions which had been denied them.

It seems quite significant that only approximately 20 percent of the fathers and 30 percent of the mothers were interested enough to put forth their best effort on the behalf of their children. Most of these conscientious parents were greatly handicapped either by the absence of their mates, by partners who were working against them, by families which were too large for them to handle, or by problems and difficulties which were beyond their abilities to solve. They have done the best that they were capable of doing, yet they have not been able to completely fulfill their functions as parents.

It is evident then that the majority of the parents have not fulfilled the obligations which they owe to their children. A study of their personalities reveals that, on the whole, they have been maladjusted themselves and have been more concerned with their own interests and gratifications than with those of their offspring. They have not understood their children and have made little attempt to guide them or to supervise their activities. They have conducted their home life in such a manner that their families have often been broken up through one means or another. Their sons are not "bad" boys-- they are, for the most part, the products of bad family environments.

Approximately 57 percent of the entire group have experienced previous placement. It is a significant fact that a large number of these boys have received not one, but several placements. Each placement has meant that certain ties have had to be broken, while additional problems have developed. Each shift from one environment to another has left marks of instability, of insecurity, of not belonging, of rejection, and of discouragement upon many of the boys. In every one of these cases neither a family environment nor an average institutional routine was equal to the problems which were presented. Each boy has needed a more intensive type of treatment than he was being given. He has

required a more individual approach along with a greater understanding of his difficulties than the untrained person or the average institution could offer.

One wonders if a more accurate initial diagnosis could have been made in a large number of these cases. It seems that more effort should have been made by those who were placing the boy in order to learn whether his problems were such that specialized and trained workers would be more valuable than lay or unspecialized assistance. It should be more readily apparent that some boys require more than a good family atmosphere to clear up their difficulties. When this is evident advanced institutional treatment should be thought of as quickly as the foster home is considered for the less complex case. Not only would valuable time and expense be saved, but the boy would be spared additional conflict.

Enrollment at the Junior Republic has been sought mainly by those in the adolescent stage of their development. During this difficult period of great change the maturing personality of the individual unfolds as the end result of countless influences and forces which have hitherto molded it according to their own desires and ambitions. Now the boy demands the right to think for himself and to be the type of person that he himself wants to be. He must find proper outlets for the great surges of energy which rise up within him.

He must learn to organize and to correlate his energies in constructive fashion. Toward this end a good foundation is an absolute necessity. When one considers the background and training of these boys, it is not difficult to see why they have found it easier to choose the dissocial rather than the social, the wrong rather than the right.

Certain psychic forces will impell one to use behavior which is at odds with society when no socially acceptable outlet is present. In other words, the boy is often influenced toward the dissocial or toward the more aggressively anti-social by emotional and usually unconscious reasoning which forces him to adopt this means of expressing himself. So it is that approximately 90 percent of the boys whom we have been studying have engaged in either repeated or serious acts of delinquency. One cannot cure these overt expressions or symptoms and feel that in so doing he is curing the original problem. The original cause remains and a new symptomatic outlet will probably be sought by the individual. Treatment must go much deeper into the unfulfilled needs of the individual and must also enable him to resolve his conflicts and to clear up his emotional difficulties.

Approximately 10 percent of the boys have not engaged in apparent acts of delinquency. However, all of them strongly present the possibility of deep emotional trauma,

insufficient supervision, a lack of understanding and affection as well as potential delinquency. Where all of these elements exist, advanced institutional treatment is of greater potential value than foster home placement. Trained workers with many facilities at hand are better equipped than the unprofessional foster mother whose efforts are applicable to the less complex problems of younger children.

Not all boys react to damaging environmental influences and grave emotional trauma in the manner in which this particular group of boys has. The reason for this lies within the individual himself and is dependent upon his general strength of character. On the whole, the boys who have been enrolled at the Connecticut Junior Republic are those who have not possessed the necessary general strength of character to overcome the grave handicaps which have been placed upon them. They have been fundamentally unstable and this instability has proven to be a very strong element in their poor emotional development as well as in their confused and distorted social adaptation.

These boys have entered the Republic with many complex and inter-related needs. In general, each boy has required personal and social harmony, genuine re-education and re-orientation. In addition to supervision and guidance, he has needed an understanding environment as well as an un-

derstanding of himself and the role which he will play in the community to which he will return. Among his emotional requirements are those involving affection and acceptance, achievement and encouragement. Furthermore, he needs a good life plan toward which to direct his efforts and his energies. Above all, he requires a depth of insight and understanding which only the trained and specialized worker is in a position to provide.

The Connecticut Junior Republic is one of the foremost institutions of its kind in the country today. Under the leadership of Harold F. Strong it has, during the past decade, developed a unique program of individualized treatment. Each member of the faculty from the administration and those heading the areas of psychology and psychiatry on through the shop and classroom instructors, the department heads, cottage mothers, and office staff have been trained to think in terms of the individual needs and problems of each boy enrolled at the school. Each one contributes to a general atmosphere which is free from restraint, repression, and unnatural conformity. Each one is in some measure a valid treatment person whose efforts are concentrated on the unfulfilled needs of every boy directly under his or her influence.

Every attempt has been made to operate the school as a community rather than as an institution. As Mr. Strong points out, this is very much in keeping with recent developments in the philosophy governing the advanced treatment of juvenile offenders:

> Institutions for delinquents have developed from a program of group control to the training school of today, in which emphasis is placed upon helping the unadjusted individual boy or girl to respond favorably to life's situations. The modern training school is organized very much as is a community. Home life is emulated in cottage homes where children live in small groups with a cottage 'father' and 'mother' assuming the role of the head of the house. The child goes out from his cottage home to the school, church, institution library, trade shops, gymnasium, and playfield. He belongs to clubs, may pursue a hobby, or may take part in Boy Scout activities, a glee club, or dramatics. Thus the instrument of treatment is a controlled environment with as many functions as possible emulating community life. [8]

Under such an approach the individual child is not committed for a definite period of time as a criminal who must pay his debt to society-- he is placed in an environment where it is possible to re-shape his behavior patterns and re-orient his thinking along socially approved lines and in accordance with his own abilities and needs. Through a constant process of preparation each boy is made ready for useful and intelligent participation in the community to which he returns and for a wise direction of the independence which will be his as an adult citizen.

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8 Harold F. Strong, "Juvenile Training Schools", Social Work Year Book, 1939 (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1939), p. 208.

The Junior Republic has not reached the peak of its efficiency, but it is headed right and well along the way. Many possibilities inherent in its integrated system have as yet been untouched. Participation by the boys in governmental activity can be developed to a far greater degree. Classwork can be more completely correlated with shop work. The treatment approach can be broadened and re-emphasized. The gains which have been made should be consolidated as a solid base upon which future progress will be built. However, the immediate task is to maintain and to develop the philosophy of helping each boy find for himself that trade which is best-suited to his own capacities and interests, developing in him some ability to do an efficient and a competent piece of work, helping him to attain a degree of personal and social harmony, and offering continuous guidance toward the wiser course of action.

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